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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighboring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Ilawd*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Nyuqa'it* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

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tere, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the sidewalls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and paintings on the fronts and back-wall. A door through the latter leads to the back-room, an important in dances.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.*

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamat'sa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *semdt* chief is overweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

*Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors must have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kwixe* society that none would dare go there.
998 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
[575] been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
place of the *tlemqo'ic* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauld-
dron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
998 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they pecked out
[211] the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

571 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
623 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[162] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[424] (c) This is a Rivers Inlet name, the dancer's prerogative having come from that area.

(d) This song was composed for, and used during the *hasiut* season of 1933-4.

(e) A reference to the house in the land above. The somewhat grandiloquent phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

[424] (f) The dancer had prerogatives both as Snowbear and Cannibal, a rare combination.

(g) The dancer must, presumably, have been in concealment for some reason. The implication is that the fear and danger of his powers had been increased from the fact that he was out of sight.

(h) That is: The crying is increasing. The reference is to the peculiar cry of all Seventh dancers.

(i) That is: His cedar-bark ornaments return to him. These indicate that he is about to dance.

(j) Presumably referring to the dancer.

(k) The wording is as if the *hahaiut* themselves were startled at the excessive vigour of the dancer.

(l) The significance is that those who have not received calls are terrified at what has come to the dancer.

(m) That is: When there is too much talking above. The uninitiated are led to believe that lengthy discussion in the land above presages some strange power coming to the dancer.

Song Used for Sunkâ'kas(a), a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(b)

A W'aaaa

(c) The theme is worded as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the evil which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability.
(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(e) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.
(f) The discussion is so animated and on such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.
(g) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together.
(h) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

Second Song Used for Snaxúla'lus, a Bella Coola Forgue Dancer(a)

A [illegible]
It is true what my mother | [illegible] | [illegible]
recounted to me(b), | has opened to me

[illegible]
Away[c] (d).

[translation removed]

B The Supernatural gallows | [illegible]
He(f) told me to raise my hand to me when he was holding(g)(h)

[illegible]
the world(f) | [illegible]
of the gathering above(g).

[translation removed]

C [illegible]
Bent their heads together(i) | [illegible] | [illegible]
all the chiefs(f), | those of lesser prestige

[illegible]
But were to hear, unable to [illegible]

(a) Recorded on song VII D 33a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the festival season of 1923-4.
(b) This was the second song used when *Snaxúla'lus* danced, and the theme follows, in a certain extent, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.
(c) That is: *Away*[c] has opened to me.
(d) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.
(e) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these sub-divisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head lowered as her chest when the supernatural one bade her look upward to see what he was holding out to her in his hand.
(f) *Model* is a poor translation. The reference is to the rite above on which the dancer pantomimed her performance.
(g) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.
(h) As if to assent and reciprocate thereunto.

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near
the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free
themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and
steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the
villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the
help of *Nyuxwa'itx*, the most exposed one, although there was
[774] no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
this town attributed their protection to *Alpaxnim*, and used
to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[162] itself was comparatively free from molestation, *Kimsquit* and
Talio, with smaller populations and less strategic positions,
were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade
of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a
water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring
to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders,
armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled
in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of
their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such
statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[628] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[622] insulted, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one
whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.